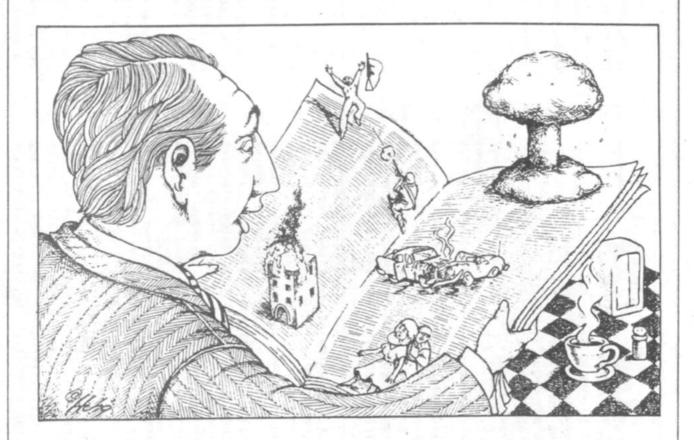
DCGazette The Progressive Review



A COP'S VIEW OF GUN CONTROL

'Bucking the System Since 1966'

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ADA ENDORSES MONDALE

Americans for Democratic Action has endorsed Walter Mondale. He won the nod on the third ballot, 80 votes to McGovern's 26 to 16 for no endorsement. On the first ballot, Alan Cranston got 16 votes and Jesse Jackson got 13. Joseph Rauh, who nominated McGovern, said during the board session, "I am appalled that ADA would endorse a candidate in the middle." Rep.Barney Frank said, "If this is therapy, then vote for George McGovern. If you're trying to elect a president then vote for Walter Mondale."

BUREAUCRACY GROWS UNDER REAGAN

Rep. Pat Schroeder, who chairs the House civil service subcommittee, reports that the federal bueaucracy increased by 18,000 persons between December 1980 and December 1982. Since then, based on figures compiled by the Office of Personnel Management through last September, the federal workforce has grown another 44,000 people.

US STINGIER TO POOR THAN MOST OF THE WEST

According to a study by Alfred Kahn and Sheila Kamerman of Columbia University's School of Social Work, other countries in the west are considerably more generous towards the poor than is the US. Even countries that are much poorer than America do a better job. The researchers used Pennsylvania, ranked in the upper third of US states for welfare benefits, as the American benchmark. Pennsylvania provides support benefits equal to 44% of the income of an average worker after taxes. Here's how other countries come out:

 Sweden:
 93%

 France:
 79%

 West Germany:
 67%

 Canada:
 53%

 Britain:
 52%

 Australia:
 50%

 Israel:
 50%

The study found no correlation between the birthrate and the generosity of the program. It further notes that the US is the only country that does not require companies to provide maternity benefits for women.

VDTs LINKED TO ABSENTEEISM.

A study of 1000 Newspaper Guild members has found that workers who use video display terminals have higher absentee rates than their colleagues. Over a two-year period, VDT users missed work an additional three or four days. Arthur Frank, who did the study, says the terminals have been blamed for eye strain, headaches, lower back pain and insomnia. He says, however, that he found no evidence that VDTs cause cataracts.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN THREAT REVISITED

Senator William Proxmire has come up with some interesting statistics concerning those countries in Central America about which the government is most paranoid these days. Here, as a percentage of this country's, is the combined relative military strength

of Costa Rica, Guatamala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama:

Military expenditures: 0.2%
Military personnel: 3.9%
Combat aircraft: 1.5%
Major naval vessels: 0.0%

ANOTHER RETREAT BY CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION
Setting what one black leader calls a "destructive"
precedent, President Ronald Reagan's newly
reconstituted US Commission on Civil Rights has killed
a proposed study of the impact of financial aid cuts
on the nation's black colleges. The commission voted
five to three to cancel the study because financial
aid is a "social goal," not a "civil right," according
to Commission Vice Chair Morris Abram.

HAIG PROMISES BLOCKBUSTER

Former Secretary of State Slexander Haig has a new book coming out that his publisher says will contain some blockbuster revelations. How big? Big enough, says the advance hype, to change the course of the 1984 campaign. The book, called "Caveat," will also reportedly explain what Haig meant when he announced, "I am in charge" after President Reagan was shot by John Hinkley. It's due April 30th, and there's a special signed edition that costs \$75.00.

MATH SCORE PARITY:

A study of 500 students at a Tucson, Arizona, school has found no difference between the math scores of boys and girls, even after puberty. University of Arizona researchers Karen Paulsen and Margaret Johnson explained that the well-to-do parents of children attending the school apparently expected high performance from daughters -- as well as sons -- and got it.

WOMEN PROFS SHORT-CHANGED

The salaries of women professors in the US fell short of their male counterparts by an average of 19% last year, says the National Center for Education Statistics, which collected data on faculty earnings at more than 2700 campuses. The widest gap was at military academies where women got 38% less than men. The gap increased as the academic rank increased — the difference at the full professor level was more than twice the gap at the assistant professor level.

THE MOVIE ELITE

Who makes our movies? Public Opinion surveyed at random 149 writers, producers and directors of the fifty top grossing films from 1965 to 1982 and came up with this profile:

White 99%
Male 99%
From metropolitan area 81%
Northeast or west coast 73%
Raised in Jewish
religion 62%
Political liberal 66%
No current religion 55%

SHORT MEMORIES

US News & World Report has provided some fascinating statistics that may help explain why writers and politicians sometimes find their allusions falling flat. Assuming that ten is the age at which a public event can make a lasting impression, then 49% of the American public is too young to remember the assasination of John F. Kennedy. Thirty percent don't remember the Arab oil embargo and 25% are too young to remember the Bicentennial. Going back even further, 69% can't remember life before television and 76% can't remember Pearl Harbor. And the stock market crash that marked the onset of the Great Depression is recalled by only 13% of the population.

HOOKER'S CONVENTION

The Second International Hookers' Convention will be held in San Francisco this summer, just three days before the Democratic convention opens. Margo Saint James, former head of the prostitutes' rights group,

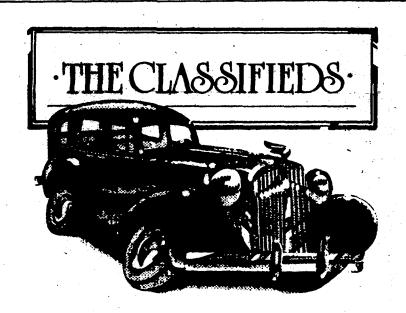
Nestle boycott ends

An international boycott of the Nestle's Corporation, sparked by the firm's baby formula marketing practices, has ended. That boycott was begun by nutrition activists who claimed the company was promoting infant food in the Third World to women who had no safe conditions in which to prepare it. The result was malnutrition and sometimes death for infants. Now Douglas Johnson, the National Chair of INFACT, the group coordinating the boycott, has announced that Nestle's has agreed to abide by the standards for the marketing of baby formula set by the World Health Organization. That agreement ends a bodycott in effect for nearly seven years, which INFACT estimates cost the Nestle's Corporation some \$40 million.

Coyote, has announced that the prostitutes will gather on July 13. The group plans to lobby the Democratic convention for legalization of prostitution and members will open their homes to delegates, particularly women, so they can discuss their needs on a more personalized basis. Delegates will have to bring their own sleeping bags. Saint James claims that 2000 prostitutes a year are murdered in the US and that "we want the right to work. Without it, the message is that whores are legitimate victims."

NATIONAL LEADER WEEKLY FOLDS

Probably the best ne black publication of recent years, the National Leader, folded its tent last month — at least as a weekly. One of the backers has plans for turning the publication into a monthly. The Leader's editor and publisher Claude Lewis has left the publication, which reportedly lost \$1.7 million in just under two years. The journal was a critical and circulation success but advertising fell far short of the goal. Says ex-editor Lewis: "The response on the part of the public was tremendous but the advertising community did not support us. We did not have a large



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RECON'S WINTER ISSUE includes: Battleship Base for New York City, Air Force Space Command, Nuclear Warhead Production, Cost of Carrier Battlegroup Doubles, and much more. Send \$10/year (4 issues) to RECON, PO Box 14602, Philadelphia PA 19134 enough circulation to be attractive to national advertising. Advertising was really terrible." The Leader achieved a paid circulation of 100,000.

NUKE NOTES

Gulf States Utilities officials in Baton Rouge, La., have announced an indefinite halt to all construction work at the Riverbend 2 reactor. *** The Nuclear Regulatory Commission has ruled for the first time to deny an operating license to a nuclear reactor, the Byron plant near Rockford, Ill. *** And the Marble Hill nuclear plant in Indiana has been abandoned. -- DIALOGUE

PEACE GROUP GETS COUNSELLING RIGHTS

A federal judge in Chicago has ruled that Clergy and Laity Concerned may counsel public school students against registering for the military draft. The ruling by Judge George Leighton noted that the schools allow military recruiters on their premises, adding: "The school board has opened up its forum to one group but has denied access to groups with opposing views. This form of censorship cannot be tolerated in the absence of a constitutionally valid reason."

THIRD PARTY CANDIDATES CLEARED FOR FUNDS

The Federal Election Commission has ruled that thirdparty candidates can qualify for matching funds for primary elections. The FEC notes that the law setting up the matching funds system makes no distinction between major and minor parties. The issue was raised by Sonia Johnson who is running for the presidential nomination of the Citizens Party.

This month's issue is labelled February-March. This is to bring the date on our cover into closer proximity to the normal astronomical cycles. In other words, accumulated delays have caught up with us. You will still receive the same number of issues. We once tried just skipping a month on the cover but that didn't work. For five years we received letters from librarians asking for the non-existent issue.

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Stone, Eugene McCarthy
CARTOONIST: John Wiebenson

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A COP'S VIEW OF GUN CONTROL

Patrick Murphy

[Patrick Murphy is the president of the Police Foundation and formerly neaded the New York City and Washington police departments. The following is from a recent speech Murphy delivered]

No one can claim to support the police and oppose handgun control, because the continuing, uncontrolled proliferation of handguns in America makes the police officer's job increasingly dangerous and stressful.

The danger lies not just in the possiblity of a police officer being a victim of gunfire. The danger resides also in the ever-increasing possession of handguns by citizens who use them in lawbreaking or in conflicts with others or under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

No officer wants to use the revolver. Police officers are sworn to protect life, not take it. But the tidal wave of handguns engulfing American society contributes to situations where officers may have to use deadly force.

Society's gun culture- its romance with firearms -- is a major factor contributing to the stress of police work.

When I was a young patrol officer in Brooklyn, there were many incidents of potentially lethal violence. But, as often as not, the weapons involved were knives. There were plenty of woundings. But there was not the sense of obliteration of human life which accompanies gunfire. Those days on patrol certainly were less tense and fearful than they are now -- when the next radio call an officer receives may involved handguns.

The perverse disregard for the police of hand gun advocates has reached an incredible extreme. Gun advocates are fighting legislation at the state and federal level which would ban the sale and possession of armor-piercing handgun bullets.

These armor-piercing bullets are made with hard steel or brass and usally have a teflon or plastic coating. They have penetration power five times as great as that of lead bullets.

This penetration power means they easily can pierce bullet-proof vests which many officers are forced to wear.

Bullet-proof vests can be uncomfortable, cumbersome and hot. Wearing them is a continuous reminder to police officers of their vulnerability on the streets.

Most officers I know would prefer to leave bullet-proof vests in their lockers, but the threat from handguns makes them a necessity. It is not an exaggeration to say that the success of the gun lobby in defeating gun control legislation has added the bullet-proof vest to the police officer's wardrobe.

Now gun advocates are fighting the legislation which would ban armor-piercing bullets.

This is insane: The gun lobby's string of victories over the years has led to the wild proliferation of handguns on the nation's streets and in its homes -- to the extent that police officers, like medieval warriors, must wear special armor.

Now they want unhampered sale and distribution of hardened, specially coated bullets that pierce bullet-proof vests which help to protect the police from the results of the gun lobby's earlier irresponsibility.

On Capitol Hill, proposals to ban the manufacture, sale and distribution of armor-piercing bullets have been introduced with the support of conservative and

God wants us to tipple, because he made the joints of the arms just the right length to carry a glass to the mouth without falling short or overshooting the mark. -- BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. Instead of diminishing evil it multiplies it. Through violence you may murder the liar, but you cannot murder the lie, nor establish the truth. Through violence you murder the hater, but you do not murder hate. In fact, violence merely increases hate. *** Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars. Darkness cannot drive out the darkness; only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that. -- ML KING JR

All of us learn to write in the second grade. Most of us go on to greater things --INDIANA BASKETBALL COACH BOBBY KNIGHT liberal congressmen alike. But the administration has yet to be heard from, pro or con, and the National Rifle Association is fighting the legislation on technical grounds.

When I last saw a count, the proposed federal legislation had the support of 15 senators and 171 members of the House. These figures would be heartening if not for some other figures from Congress. It appears that at least 52 senators and 120 members of the House have cosponsored the McClure-Volkmer Gun Control Act.

Last May, President Reagan pledged support for the legislation, although the administration this fall offered several amendments which make it somewhat less destructive of efforts to stem gun violence.

The effect of the McClure-Volkmer Act would be to make the already tough work of law enforcement all the more difficult.

The legislation would effectively repeal existing federal gun control laws.

First, the prohibition on mail-order gun sales would be lifted. Next, anyone, not just federally licensed dealers as is now the case, could make interstate gun sales.

Third, the term "gun dealer" would be redefined in a way that anyone could sell handguns without keeping a record of gun sales.

Finally, some local and state laws concerning gun commerce would be nullified in a way that would preempt state and local laws prohibiting the carrying of guns.

What does this mean for the police? For one thing, the successful work of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms in tracing guns used in crimes would be gravely undermined.

Thus, it would become even more difficult for local police and prosecutors to detect and convict offenders in crimes involving guns.

It would be even easier for the criminal and unstable to obtain guns, thus increasing the number of gun crimes with which the police have to deal.

Local jurisdictions and states like would have greater difficulty in keeping citizens from carry concealed weapons.

In short, the proposed legislation would enhance opportunities for Americans to blow each other away and kill and wound the police if they try to intercede.

So inimical to the interests of law enforcement is the

Americans in thousands of occupations would benefit from effective gun control, but I have enmphasized the police because the gun lobby seeks to pose as a valiant friend of law enforcement and as its concerned ally in the fight to control crime.

Actually, police officers will tell you that all too frequently guns are what otherwise law-abiding citizens use in figts of passion or drunkenness or derangement to kill others or themselves.

As for "controlling criminals, not guns," guns are the principal weapons that give street criminals the sense of warped empowerment which encourages muggings, rape and other violent crimes.

As to the notion that
"without handguns citizens will be
defenseless," the police know that
the handgun in the innocent citizens
nightstand is many more times likely
be used accidentally or in suicide
or in a family or other disputes

than in defense against intruders. The same gun in the nightstand is also one of the most frequently sought-after prizes of the burglar. Handguns stolen in residential burglaries contribute considerably to the arsenal of criminals.

it is clear that those citizens interested in the welfare and success of their police are the ones who support gun control efforts. They are the citizens with a true dedication to law and order - a useful phrase that deserves rehabilitation.

At a minimum, Americans interested in law and order should support the Kennedy-Rodino bill which, I am sorry to say, languishes in Congress. The bill:

- manufacture of Saturday night specials.
- Requires a 21-day waiting period and background check for handgun purchases.
- Requires mandatory jail sentences of at least two years for using a handgun in the commission of a felony.
- Tightens the restrictions on handgun deals and manufacturers
- And limits the number of handguns a person may purchase to two guns a year.

My preference would be for legislation that concentrates on more than Saturday night specials. Police Foundation research has shown that the specials, the cheapest of the handguns, play no dominant role in the commission of violent crime. On the contrary, a foundation study demonstrates that higher priced brand-name handguns are used as crime weapons every bit as frequently as the cheaper guns.

So I would like to see federal legislation strictly controlling all handguns, regardless of their price tag. this means passage of legislation requiring federal registation of all handguns.

In the best of circumstances, possession of handguns would be limited to those have a good reason to hold them: the police, the military, registered and trained private security personnel, and, perhaps, some retail merchants, sportsmen, and others who can show a valid need.

However, because some 50 to 60 million handguns already are in circulation and because the gun lobby's strength in Congress is still so pervasive, we must accept the Kennedy-Rodino bill as the first step toward eventual federal gun control. Support of that legislation is the least Americans can do to help their local police assure law and order.

LETTER FROM BOLOGNA

Barbara Bick

[The second in a series of repors from the unusually progressive city of Bologna]

Bologna is in north-cental Italy, in the southern portion of the Po Valley, Italy's richest agricultural region. It is the capital of Emilia-Romagna region (region being a political division analogous to our state) which boasts an enviable economic contribution of excellent agriculture and many prosperous small industrial towns. Milan, in Lombardy region to the north is 130 miles away. Northeast lies Venice, 99 miles. Past Ravenna, 47 miles, lie the Adriatic beaches. Genoa almost directly west 170 miles. Tuscany region is south, separated from Bo by the Apennines mountains. Florence, 65 miles, is 90 minutes by train. Rome, to the south, is still only 235 miles. Italy is threefourth the size of California.

Bolgna has an historical and architectural heritage to make one dream of novels and poetry rather than of zoning ordinances. There is documentation of its earliest origins in the Iron Age (10th Century BC) and the Etruscan period, but its place in the Roman era is still clearly evident from the Via

Aemilia, a great road linking Rome's military system of Paicenza-Bologna-Rimini. Because of its central geographic position, Bo flourished as a trading center, under succeeding influences, from the First Century BC to the medieval period. It was then, in the 11th to 14th centuries, that Bologna's cultural and architectural zenith was attained, giving it much of its present character.

In the year 1116, Bo became a "comune," which signifies a free city. Economically it was dominated, on the one hand, by the guild organizations of mercantile, financial, professional and artisan activities within the city and, in an often contentious power struggle, by feudal lords who controlled the surrounding rish agricultural production and indispensible trade routes.

Early in the 11th Century, the creation in Bo of the first true university in Europe -- instruction was secular and structure was democratic -- had enormous cultural and economic implications for the city. The university's orginal function was the study of law -- the modernization of the Roman Codes of Justinian. It brought to Bo, then a

city of under 50,000, several thousand students from all over Europe, men of some maturity, from the upper class, often accompanied by family and retainers. The university was run by these students rather than by the faculty. It was located in the heart of the city and the present extensive university and medical complex, with its international student body, still occupies a central position in the inner city. Although the university, with its privileged base, sometimes exerted a reactionary influence, it also disseminated new doctrings, i.e. the first general freeing of serfs in Italy took place in Bo (1256). From it, the city and the surrounding region were influenced by the humanism and anti-clericist ideas of the Renaissance. Still later, anarchist and socialist currents were reflected in the election of an emilian disciple of Marx and Bakunin as Italy's first socialist member of Parliament.

The university is also reputed to have been inadvertent agent for one of Bo's most characteristic features — its porticoed streets. Together with the pervasive color of brick-red and ochre tones of yellow and beige which distinguish Bo, the city

is unique in having over 21 miles of city streets covered by porticos. These range from the most elegant arched and vaulted corridors of extreme height supported by finely designed columns to low wooden ceilings resting up the simplest supports, but also include prosaic modern adaptations. The portico is said to have been originally designed as an emergency expedient in response to a housing scarcity created by the influx of a university-related population. Additions, overhanging the street, could rapidly be added onto the facade of existing buildings, thereby creating new lodging space. As the urban population continued to increase, comune edicts made porticos compulsory. In time, they also became somewhat of a democratic symbol: creating for the ordinary citizen shelter from the weather, protection from traffic, and promoting social communication between public and private areas.

Two additional elements were imposed upon the basic urbanstructual setting of the Middle Ages. The comune was finally supplanted in the 15th Century by aristocratic rule. The following, from a municipal pamphlet, puts the architectural impact succinctly, "In the XV cenutry the powerful Bentivoglio family tried to put into practice aristocratic-bourgeois individualism (of Florentine inspiration), by beautifying the town with buildings which only interested the highest social classes, thus ignoring the portico community." (Nevertheless, these splendid palaces truly beautify the city and now have institutional, retail and housing use, the last often luxuriously swank.)

The 16th and 17th centuries saw Bo under papal authority; it became the church's second capital. A trend of monastic orders, begun in the 6th Century, was consolidated and Bo became a city of 96 monasteries around which there was further urban aggregation of crafts production and workers' housing. The 18th and 19th centuries wrought detruction in the name of urban progress (the ancient walls demolished, dozens of beautiful towers levelled), but World War II was the greatest leveller. The city was behind the Gothic Line during the Salo Republic (a German puppet regime after Mussolini's fall) and subjected to 43 Allied air bombardments. Nonetheless, the city remains a living stage with Renaissance and Baroque palazzos, great and small piazzas, fantastic leaning towers, church complexes, but -- above all -- the light and shadow and mystery of the theatrical porticoed medieval streets.

Bologna was under Fascist rule for 25 years, so concern for the integrity of the city was ignited only during post-war reconstruction. It crystallized in policy guidelines and legislation in the '60s. The most overriding was the decision to set a population ceiling on the city of 600,000. A number of small American cities flirted with this concept of no-growth during the '70s

but, in most cases, were eventually routed by real estate interests. The rationale for limiting urban growth was enunciated by Bo's mayor who predicted that it would re-establish the harmonic "balance between town and country, between places of work and homes, between houses and public buildings."

The first set of legislation concerned land use. A density limit was set for new construction of only 3 cubic meters (about four cubic yards) on lots of one square meter of ground space (10.76 square feet). This effectively destroyed incentive for demolition of old housing since new buildings have less use-space than the old. No new construction at all would be allowed in the Appinini hills which surround Bo to the south. This lovely space of heights and valleys, of agricultural land and old villas, had acquired a concentration of costly housing for the new-rich of the post-war era. The hills are now a green-belt with strict conservation specifications for monasteries, feudal villages and farm houses. There are also areas of natural park land for recreation, but at a distance from the inner

The core of Bo's urban plan is the "Piano Centro Storico" which declares the whole of the town inside the walls to be a monument worthy of preservation and which set into motion a cataloguing of old buildings, within six categories which govern renovation or "conservative restoration."

The legal basis for this massive involvement of the city in the private use of property comes from a national law granting every Italian the right to at least 18 square meters of public land for education and leisure. Bolgna raised the "standards urbanistici" to 64 square meters, which immediately relieved some 7,000 acres from speculative construction. In addition, in the early '60s a new national law required local councils to work out a ten year plan for public housing and set the expropriation price for the necessary buildings at the 1961 market levels! A later law went further and designated compensation not at market price but at a rate equal to its agricultural value. All of this national legislation resulted from the entry of the left political parties into government.

A democratic restructuring of the city polity brought hundreds of Bolognese into the process of determining use standards: workers' families were enabled to evacuate and then return to their rehabilitated quarters; a farreaching transportation policy transformed city streets. We will look at these and other aspects of Bologna's political and social life next.

[To be continued]

THE NEW WORKER-OWNERS

James Ridgeway

WASHINGTON -- In a sharp departure from business as usual, a rash of trucking and airline companies have recently moved away from confrontation with unions and put out a welcome mat -- offering workers stock, even a say in management, in exchange for one-time wage concessions.

Western Airlines, Republic and PSA, the feisty California line, have all completed or are working toward such arrangements. And within the last month or so, four trucking companies, including Transcon, the country's 10th largest, have also negotiated employee ownership plans.

Workers own one-third of People's Express, the cut price airline, and several other lines, including Pan Am and Eastern, now have employee ownership plans. The Pan Am scheme, under which employees received 13 percent of the stock, is widely credited with improving the company's performance.

The trucking industry has just joined this move, with a number of firms offering employees up to 40 percent of outstanding stock in return for wage concessions of up to 15 percent. Typically, employees can elect a quarter of the directors and over time could come to control half the directorship.

One most unusual facet of these developments is the fact that they have been supported, indeed orchestrated, by the Teamsters Union -- now becoming known as a keen proponent of employees owning the firms in which they work.

Bill Genoese, head of the Teamsters' airline division in New York City, is credited with developing employee ownership plans with airlines such as Pan Am, and more recently with pushing them in trucking.



"It's an opportunity for the little guy to have a say in the company," says Genoese. "If he takes an interest in his job, he's happier and more productive. Under these plans, the employer says 'if we make money, I'm going to share it with you.' It's the wave of the future."

Another catalyst is Richard Phenneger, a Pan Am 747 pilot who -- in between flights to the Far East -- runs a part-time consulting business from his home in Spokane, Washington.

As president of the Flight Engineer's Union -- he's now in the Airline Pilots Union -- Phenneger helped push through the Pan Am arrangement. Since then, he has helped set up similar schemes for Wierton Steel, Cascade Airlines, and, most recently, for Western and Transcon.

Phenneger feels the plans don't cut union power, but they do "change the ground rules." Now "they can't just sit there and demand something," they have to understand the items being negotiated.

Feeling like an owner can have interesting effects. He tells of one stewardess who, instead of throwing out half-finished cans of soda pop, started saving them for the next customer.

Some 5,000 U.S. companies have employee stock ownership plans, or ESOPs, and workers actually control perhaps 500 firms.

Under ESOP, the firm receives a tax advantage in return for setting a certain amount of stock in trust. The stock is held in the employee's name until, following some agreed formula, he or she becomes the owner. In

publicly-owned companies, employees can generally vote their stock.

In the past, these plans have been criticized as gimmicks which let employers get wage concessions while giving up little real say in the company's management.

There was great enthusiasm, for example, when South Bend Lathe began an employee ownership plan to save it from going under. But when the company then continued to lay off workers — by then, part-owners — and went on to set up a plant in South Korea, the bitter worker-owners struck, saying they had no say in management.

But the most ironic example comes from Rath Packing in Iowa. In 1980, Rath employees gave up 30 percent of their wages, half their paid vacations and parts of other benefits for 18 months, taking 60 percent of the company stock in return.

The company continued to flounder, and last fall it filed for bankruptcy. And the union president who negotiated the arrangement is now the company president trying to take the benefits back.

Other firms with ESOP schemes include Lowe's

Companies, a 7,000 employee home improvement and lumber store chain; Dan River Textiles, where employees hold 70 percent of the stock; and the Journal Company which owns the Milwaukee Journal.

Though there's little hard information on the overall effect of employee ownership, a 1978 University of Michigan study found such companies were 150 percent as profitable as comparable conventional firms.

Other reports are equally

impressive, showing that productivity increases are greater in firms with ESOPs, and that companies actually controlled by employees generate more new jobs than conventional firms.

Over the short run, the spread of employee ownership schemes in two important industries represents an understanding between labor and management -- labor offers concessions in exchange for what seems to be a real say in management.

But these plans could have a more important long range effect. They could very well represent the reopening of an old debate over the terms of work.

Since the Second World War American labor has essentially abandoned any serious effort to influence actual production -- whether an automaker should produce large or small cars, say, or what technologies the steel industry should use.

Now, through employee management plans, the unions and their members have once again opened the discussion on how work should be done, on the direction of the company, its management practices, its products and indeed its overall structure.

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DC GAZETTE

The annual budget follies

Your taxes are about to go up again, thanks in no small part to the failure of the mayor and the city council to deal with chronic budgetary problems in other than the most short-sighted way. It is, in the end, easier to squeeze more money out of the public and businesses than it is to look long and hard at these problems and do something about them. There is, of course, a breaking point, as has been seen in other places such as California, Michigan and Massachusetts, but by the time it comes, the change is forced not by careful consideration but by an often almost masochistic groundswell for economy at any cost, egged on by extreme conservatives and clever demogogues. Not only are previous budgets discredited, but former administrations and former politics and, as we can note today on the national level, the politics of selfishness, the economics of reverse redistribution, and the social ethic of indifference take over. In the manner of liberals elsewhere, the home rule government of DC has not taken economy seriously. It happily expanded the city government, overbuilt capital projects and engaged in all manner of speculative ventures in the name of "economic progress." To be sure, in the early years of the Barry administration, there were serious and partially successful efforts to trim the bloated city government and improve efficiency, but in time Barry seems to have adopted the standard view of credit-card liberals: let my successor worry about it. Thus various deficits have mounted significantly even as the mayor was claiming to balance the books. These include his convenient exclusion of probable pay hikes for city employees; an \$18 million deficit in the water and sewer fund despite last year's big rate increases; subsidies for UDC, the convention center and DC General Hospital; a failure to set aside more than a token amount to retire the city's long-term debt and a gaping deficit in the pension fund account. On top of this, stop-gap borrowing to cover cash flow deficiencies has risen about \$100 million since the Washington administration. In short, the city remains in serious trouble.

As we go to press, the city council has taken two notable, and depressing, actions in regard to the budget. It has retreated from last year's reform which centralized budgetary considerations in the committee of the whole, returning to the feudal approach in which each councilmember's committee has its own departmental turf to play in. As council chair David Clarke said:

"Each of us either chairs or serves on the committees we consider important to our constituents. Committee voting provides the opportunity for voting for the budget lines which are most important to us, while leaving the opportunity to vote against the whole budget because it necessitates tax increases."

Admittedly, putting the matter in the committee of the whole adds to the chair's power, but given the relative importance of budgetary considerations as opposed to intra-council politics, Clarke's self-aggrandisement, if that is what it is, also serves the city rather well. It is hard to see what comes of turning the matter over to the committee fiefdoms.

Before making this move, in fact, the council clearly indicated that it was ready to fulfill Clarke's fears. It rejected a proposal by John Wilson to have each committee come up with a budget about 2% less than that of the mayor's, thus obviating the need for a tax increase. (See Report Card)

John Wilson has been attempting to introduce an element of rationality into budgetary planning but he is receiving precious little support. A recent article

he wrote for the Washington Post sums up the matter well:

"Any further tax increases will only serve to drive out business, jobs and the middle class, making the District a city of the very rich and very poor. *** Action must be taken now to turn this trend around and make the District an attractive place for people and business to locate. Following Mayor Barry down the tax increase road would only lead to further erosion of the tax base, increased flight from the city and a vicious spiral of more deficits and more tax increases.

"The District must begin to live within its means and to finance its future budgets with existing resources. I believe that this can be done but only if the city acts now to create a 3- to 5-year tax and spending plan that establishes firm budget priorities divorced from political expediency; reorganizes city agencies along service-delivery lines that provide more workers in the field and fewer highly paid consultants, exeuctive, deputy and special assistants; and commits the city to a policy of tax-competitiveness aimed at increasing rather than eroding the tax base."

What we could do about it

As suggested above, there is a more than a bit of urgency to shaping up the city finances. One senses that one of the reasons so little is being done is because of an unspoken assumption that little can be done. In an effort to suggest that this is not the case, here is a modest program for improving the situation, with emphasis on programs that could be instituted with a reasonable amount of dispatch:

Making money

Curiously, little is made of the income side of the ledger. Yet one of the main reasons for the city's financial plight is its steady loss of population and the erosion and distortion of its business base, particularly the failure of sales tax revenues to keep pace with inflation and the growth of the city as a suburban job center. This could be changed, however, by

• GRANNY APARTMENTS: The zoning code could be greatly liberalized to permit an increase in apartments in currently single-family homes. This not only would increase the amount of reasonable-rent housing available but it would increase the population, and hence the revenue, of the city. It would also have a significant social effect on the city, reducing the amount of age and class ghettoization of neighborhoods and perhaps even reducing crime by adding to the number of eyes on the street. Further, being able to rent apartments would allow people currently priced out of the DC housing market to afford homes here.

• PERMITTING BUSINESSES IN RESIDENTIAL AREAS: Having alienated most of Upper Northwest with the first suggestion, we move gleefully on to finish the job. Present zoning for small businesses is simply too restrictive for the city to work. All one has to do is recall what Capitol Hill looked like before the homogenizers moved in and you will discover one problem with modern planning. The corner store thrived in such places because it performed a useful social and economic function. The neighborhood grocery, drug store, cleaners and bar were once the sina qua non of an urban community. We have paid a social price for tidying the place up, but what is of concern here is that we also paid an economic price. By increasing restrictions on small business activity we have consciously reduced our potential tax base. It is, controversial as it may be, time to do something about it. Initial steps might include permitting ANCs to grant special exceptions for small businesses and permitting businesses with no more than one employee and little walk-in trade as a matter of right in residential districts.

[Please turn to page 17]

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For more than a decade one of the chief characteristics of the progressive movement has been its remarkable affinity for the gestalt of city street gangs. Although ostensibly united in contempt for the established order, an inordinate amount of time and energy has been spent in turf-protection and internecine warfare. The atomization of the left has given it a wealth of issues and a paucity of victories, and the spirit of more-oppressedthan-thou has led to tedious theoretical arguments instead of cooperative action.

But now a curious thing appears to be happening. Out of the swamp of parochialism a voice of unity arises, a vision ascends through the mist calling the dispirited, contentious advocates of human justice to come together in the common cause. The spirit moves and the seekers of liberation follow.

The mist is clearing now. I can begin to see the form of the spirit. The arms stabbing forth, the head tilted forward, and the voice so familiarly squeaky. Now the lace appears. I can see it. I can see him. It is... It is -- oh my God, it's Walter Mondale!

Well, not everyone is following. Many blacks, in a manner that is beginning to seem almost anachronistic, actually have their own candidate. The effort is working surprisingly well, but in no small part because much of the rest of the progressive army has beaten their swords into into placards supporting the Democratic front-runner, leaving the progressive special interest market to blacks. However futile and naive the Jackson candidacy may seem, it represents at least a reminder that the sins of Ronald Reagan do not automatically cannonize his major opponents, the same sort of reminder that the Congressional Black Caucus has repeatedly given its colleagues by being the most steadfast Hill critic of Reaganomics.

Elsewhere, though, we find NOW, the ADA, gays, environmentalists, anti-nukers and the AFL-CIO -- who previously couldn't organize a one-day seminar on common concerns without a SWAT team present to prevent violence, stumbling over each other in their rush to show their loyalty to Walter Mondale.

For his part, Walter Mondale has paid little for his windfall profit. He has challenged no conventional wisdom, taken no risks, made no more than the most mundane promises. George McGovern recounts saying to Mondale of the Grenada invasion, "Fritz, don't you think this Grenada thing is the most preposterous thing we've done?" and Mondale replying, "Well, it may be, but it's popular." And Mondale, unlike Hubert Humphrey in 1968, isn't even the vice president.

What seems to be happening is that progressives are so scared of Ronald Reagan that many could find justification for supporting Johnny Carson against him. It is the Reagan panic rather than any Mondale

TOPICS

Sam Smith



program that is making Mondale the ironic unifier of the left.

There is, to be sure, good reason for concern. But the question remains: why panic now? Why turn one's back on the most progressive candidates -- McGovern and Jackson, or even Hart and Cranston, so early in the game? Part of the answer is, of course, that Mondale appears to have the best chance of beating Reagan. But the other part, unspoken but real, is that many progressive leaders have decided that no progressive, even if the nomination were won, can prevail in the general election. In short, they have already surrendered the 1984 election and have decided they would prefer to surrender to Mondale rather than to Reagan.

It is not clear what they hope to gain from this. Surely such premature capitulaton will do nothing to impress upon the leading candidate how hard he must work to win the effection of those outside the extenist middle. If anything the message is likely to be that, over the course of the campaign, Mondale can slide slowly to the right, confident that inertia and fear will keep his progressive supporters in line.

The contrast between the early defectors to Mondale and those supporting Jackson's campaign is striking. The former will probably, win or lose, have little to show for their efforts. Six months into a Mondale administration they'll be right back holding news conferences futilely denouncing the way things are. But even now it is clear that Jackson has at least incrementally increased black political power in this country, not just in terms of registered voters but in all the subtle and complex ways that voters and politicians will react to this un-ignorable phenonenom. Win or lose Jackson will have achieved something for blacks. And if the Democrats demonstrably win because of an increased black vote in key states then politics will never be the

On the other hand, the second candidate with a serious claim on the progressive vote, George McGovern, has been treated by his supposed soulmates like an embarassing old friend from the hometown who shows up suddenly in his double-knit suit and won't take off his Kiwanis button and says all the wrong things at the cocktail party. I mean you liked the guy and all that but why did he have to come here and anyway you've grown so much

more than he and so forth. This attitude has been helped along by a media that insists on referring to supporters of the most progressive candidate in the campaign as "nostalgic."

Caught between the hyperpragmatism of his natural
constituency and the disparagement
of the press, McGovern has been
forced to listen to applause that
would not turn into votes because
too many people think they've grown
beyond doing something simply
because it is right. And yet even
this lonely campaign has had its
effect. One senses that McGovern and
Jackson have given to the other
candidates no small portion of the
little backbone they have displayed.

In fact, if you put the McGovern and the Jackson constituency together you come up with about 15% of the Democratic Party, and significantly more if people voted their hearts and minds instead of their tout sheets. This a bigger base than George Wallace worked from, a base that is crucial to rebuilding the party in such a away that it is not shattered by any second-rate actor preaching government by parable. Those who have jumped on the Mondale wagon have done nothing to help build this base. In truth, what they have done is to help encourage the further degeneration of the Democratic Party. If they couldn't have supported McGovern or Jackson they could have at least shut up.

Instead they join Mondale in winking at Grenada and accepting ever larger defense budgets and join a party that had been steadily emasculating the reforms instituted in large part thanks to the former candidacy of George McGovern.

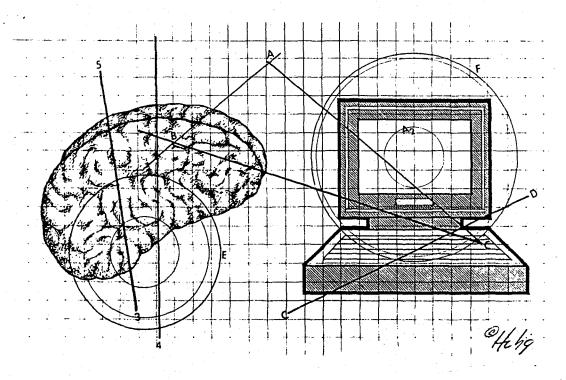
I hope McGovern does embarass them. They deserve it.

<<<<>>>> ·

George Orwell was at least a bit off the mark. But we shouldn't be too hard on him. How could poor George have guessed that rather than it being the state having its television cameras trained on you constantly, it would be your local drug store? How could he have realized that public officials would retain a certain civility in dealing with citizens while jeans shops and similar establishments would treat every customer as a potential criminal? And how could he have imagined that the agency that would most frequently call up dossiers on their computers, revealing the deepest secrets of the lives of ordinary people, might be your local car dealer? Or that private businesses would have their own secret police forces?

It is, I suppose, a tribute to the vigor of the free enterprise system that authoritarism has not been completely socialized, but there is still plenty of the Orwellian prototype around. Some of the more fascinating aspects have been assembled in a book, "The Big Brother Book of Lists (Price/Stern/

[Please turn to page 12]



TALKING WITH A COMPUTER

Willim O. Beeman

How human do we want computers to be?

Do we want them to give us soothing directions when we approach them, to gently ask what we want them to do?

Or would we prefer that they remain mute tools -- like a can opener or screwdriver, which one must learn to use but which does not talk back.

Computer scientists are finding this problem too complicated to solve by themselves. So they are asking philosophers, anthropologists, linguists and cognitive scientists to help.

The educational institutions in the forefront of computer research -- Stanford, Brown, MIT, Carnegie-Mellon and several smaller schools -- have begun to develop research centers designed to work on the problem of improving relations between machines and people, the "computer-human interface."

Some of the most difficult problems revolve around the use of language.

Human language is vastly different from the languages used to direct computers. For example, the word "good," has no real fixed meaning. A "good man" can mean something radically different if one is talking of organized crime

or theology.

Moreover, some words depend on understanding the situation of the speaker. Interpreting the word "here" always depends on knowing the physical location of both speaker and hearer.

Human and computer languages do share one thing. They are used to exchange information by people or machines situated in the world. It is this "situated" quality which makes understanding human language so tricky, according to John Barwise, professor of philosophy at Stanford University and director of its new Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Barwise and his co-workers insist that the truth of any statement is related to the context or "situation" in which it is made. And they are tackling the question of how to express context in "formal" terms -- that is, in a way which will enable computer languages to interpret as humans do.

The intellectual problems are real and important -- as are the commercial and industrial problems associated with bringing computers and humans closer together.

For one thing, computer manufacturers want to expand their market. This involves defeating "computer phobia," a very real obstacle to many. Computers which could explain their functions to new users would help alleviate that fear.

The military, too, is interested -- exploring ways to make it possible for enlisted men to address computers without using any specialized language.

Ideally, one would like to ask the computer "how much money do I have to borrow so I can do a good job on this project?" Such a question would be a snap for an experienced banker, but the computer must have "how much", "enough," and "good," defined with extreme care in terms of the project under consideration.

In fact, this kind of conversation may never be possible.
According to John Seeley Brown, of Xerox's Palo Alto Research Center,

designer of some of the world's largest computer systems, real problem is that computers don't have a world view."

"There is a shared knowledge that exists between human communicators," adds Stanly Rosenschein, an artificial intelligence expert at SRI-International.

In short, computers share neither our culture nor our society.

For one thing, a computer cannot make intuitive leaps or understand the consequences of has not been action it informed of in advance.

Nor can a computer execute totally new designs, since it can only "know" what is already known by those that program it.

Thus it is unlikely that the computer of the future could ever plan a party, design a game, write a successful campaign speech or formulate a joke.

At least one prominent researcher disagrees entirely with attempts to make computers more human. Terry Winograd of Stanford's Computer Science department espouses what he admits is a "non-central" view that "getting computers to be more like people is not the way to go."

Winograd sees computers as well-designed tools, which, in the right hands, become "transparent."

"It's a little like the steering wheel of a car," he "You wouldn't want to maintains. interact with it like you do with a person -- 'a little to the right now, no! too much! back to the left!' -- it would be awful."

Winograd feels we would be better off knowing exclusively what the computer can do. "There is really no hope that we will develop a system as open-ended and flexible as a person," he explains. "It's better for us to seek to make very explicit,

well-designed tools and train ourselves to use them."

Whichever we create -- simple tools or semi-humans -- computers cannot succeed unless they are well integrated with the groups that hope to use them. Humanists and social scientists are playing a role here, too.

Anthropologist Eleanor Wynn, a marketing specialist for Bell Northern Reseach Inc., explains that institutions which consider using computers on a large scale often fail to understand what their people actually do. Instead, they have some ideal view -- and try to apply the computers to that idealized office rather than the real one.

Then they are surprised when this approach results in disaster.

At Brown University, which is moving toward near-total computerization, the faculty has taken these warnings seriously and established an elected committee to oversee the effect of widespread use of computers.

"We are concerned about the quality of campus academic life," says philosophy professor John Ladd. A significant number of faculty members feels that computerization implies belief in one kind of scholarship, which may not apply for all academics and students.

"No amount of 'user friendliness' can make the computer fit where it has no function, claims one professor of history.

Thus, enthusiasts who hope to make a more human computer must face the possibility that even if the machine could be made to be as personable and compatible as one's best friend, it still may be out of place if it is not appropriately positioned in the very human structure of the work place.

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TOPICS Cont'd

Sloan, \$6.95) by Robert Ellis Smith, Deborah Caulfield, David Crook and Michael Gershman. Strange as it seems, this book is both scary and delightful at the same time. Included are such lists as 108 books that got banned and why, the eight ways J Edgar Hoover spotted communists by the way they drove, ten wiretaps approved by Bobby Kennedy, nine companies that monitor employee phone calls, great moments in electronic surveillance and much. much more. This is not, however, a book of grim Naderesque expose. You'll find such stuff as bandleader Artie Shaw's memorable explanation to the House Un-American Activities Committee: "I was certainly a bad communist. It was never my intention to be one and to the best of my knowledge I have never been one, although these people may have assumed I was." He

promised the committee that he wouldn't sign anything, "unless I had the advice of seven lawyers and the granting of permission or clearance by this committee." If you can't find the book in your local bookstore you can order it postpaid from Price/Stern/Sloan, 410 N. La. Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90048. -- SAM SMITH



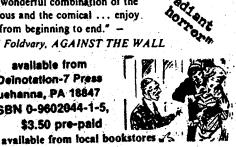
Shop Talk

CUSHING DOLBEARE, founder and president of the National Low Income Housing Coalition, is resigning from her position on June 30. Dolbeare will continue as chair of the organization. A search committee has been formed to find a successor.

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LIVING WITHOUT A COMPUTER

Lenny Siegel

PALO ALTO, CA. -- Computopian futurists gleefully predict a New America, in which success is not symbolized by "two cars in every garage," but by "a computer in every cottage.

With computers in millions of American homes, and prices predicted to fall so that personal computers may become as common as television sets, this may seem as likely as it is intriguing.

Intriguing especially because, using telephone lines and a small device, the "modem," the computer opens a window into the brave new universe of "informatics." Already, computer users can shop, bank, study, review the news, and send electronic "mail" from home -- and major corporations are betting vast sums of money on these conveniences.

Those who are plugged into the system enjoy, or will enjoy, instant access to information services. But for those outside, the "information revolution" is, and will be, an empty promise.

In fact, services which we have relied upon for years, even centuries, may become more expensive or less reliable.

-- The most visible change right now involves the nation's telephone network, where skyrocketing phone rates are widely predicted. These are usually blamed on the breakup of the Bell System, but in fact the roots lie in the new technologies.

Basically, telephone circuits are now used to speed digital data of relatively reliable universal from computer to computer. The ability to transmit voices is no longer sufficient.

At first, this was important only to large corporations and government agencies, but personal computers have created a whole new time to type or print out a class of users -- by 1985, an

will have modems.

To meet this demand, new companies have sprouted to compete instantaneous, it beats any with AT&T, while AT&T and the new regional operators spend huge sums to upgrade their equipment so it can rapidly transmit large volumes of data -- while retiring old equipment prematurely. And this, argues Brian

Lederer, People's Counsel for the District of Columbia, could soon "quadruple or quintuple" basic

prices for both business and residential service -- despite the fact that "most consumers want only voice service and have never consented to nor requested

anything more."
--- Electronic mail will also benefit the computer "haves," but to those outside the electronic cottage, it may mean the downfall

postal services.

Anyone with a communicating computer can send electronic messages over phone lines directly to a computer "mail slot." The letter-writer need not take the message, and can send the same or estimated three million U.S. homes similar messages to a large number of correspondents.

> Since electronic mail is service on the market -- including the U.S. Postal Service. Once many more users have their own slots, electronic mail will probably be the preferred medium of home computer owners as well as business and professional mailers.

> At that point, political support for subsidizing the Postal Service will decline and, with

CHUCK STONE The Hands of Esau

n attempt by Linda Chavez, director of the recently reconstructed U.S. Civil Rights Commission, to unscramble the eggs of civil rights remedies reveals a painful

Oppressed people are oftimes betrayed by one of their own.

In that cinematic epic "The Informer," Victor McLaughlin, playing a happy-go-lucky Irish-

man, sells his people out to the British.

A few African kings conspired with slaveowners to establish beachheads for slavery. Spanish explorer Hernan Cortes conquered Mexico with the assistance of a talented Indian woman, Dona Marina, known as La Malinche,

who advised him on how to outwit the Aztecs. Today, at the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, Chavez, La Malinche II is ecumenically scuttling equal rights programs.

Not only Hispanics, but blacks and women also are targets of her reactionary wrath.

She has proposed that the "new" U.S. Civil Rights Commissars oppose the traditional reparations — such as affirmative action in education and in employment, as well as busing that try to redress cumulative deficits.

In addition, Chavez has urged cancellation of a study on women and minority employment in "high-tech" industries.

Her eight-page, turn-back-the-clock memo cited testimony at a hearing that "women and minorities often lack the math and science training to enter these industries." Concluded La Malinche II: "Little evidence of discrimina-tion was offered."

The Reagan administration's philosophy could have supplied the evidence: All women, blacks and Hispanics are born naturally dumber than white males.

I'm surprised La Malinche II wasn't tuned in. One irony of her relentless anti-affirmativeaction crusade is her rise up the career ladder precisely because of affirmative action.

One of her former colleagues at HEW, William Blakey, now staff director of the House Subcommittee on Post-Secondary Education, told a USA Today reporter that his and Chavez's HEW boss "went out of his way to integrate his staff and it was not lost on him that Linda was both competent and Hispanic."

But La Malinche Il's declaration of war on the historic civil rights lobby could not succeed were she lacking support by the commission's five-member majority.

The distinguished leader of this five-member anti-busing, anti-affirmative-action and antiparity cabal is Morris Abram.

Long active in human rights, Abram can trot out his past civil rights activity faster than one of his colored friends shuffling into a blackfaced buck and wing.

That record, which he recites ad nauseam, puts an imprimatur of respectability on the new strategy of civil rights reversal.

Abram arrogantly refuses to let ideological adversaries define his morality. Surely, he can't expect 27 million blacks to accept his definition of their humanity.

Besides, past records are no guarantee of lasting friendship.

Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves, then promptly instructed his secretary of the navy to devise an operation for shipping them back

But Lincoln is still hailed as "The Great Emancipator." Abram once worked with civil rights groups. Now working to weaken their agenda, he has become "The Great Mitigator."

At the commission, a new biparous party line holds that:

1. Racial and sexual discrimination are not responsible for inequities suffered by women, blacks and Hispanics.

2. The country should be concerned with equality of opportunity, not equality of results.

So, if the 100-member U.S. Senate has only two women and women earn 59 percent less than men, or 49 percent of all black teenagers are unemployed (compared to only 17 percent white' and black unemployment rose to 17.8 percent while overall unemployment declined to 8.2 percent — well, baby, that's just tough.

Since we now have "equality of opportunity," rationalizes the new-majority commission, the inequities must mean that women are inferior and blacks are hereditarily lazy.

But two sets of statistics defy even the Olympian wisdom of Chavez, Abram et al

1. The black infant mortality rate is rising faster than that of white, says a recent report by the Food Research and Action Center. In 1978, the black infant mortality rate was 86 percent higher than the white. In 1982, it was 95 percent higher.

Do Chavez, Abram et al believe the blame belongs to black mothers?

2. Forty-seven percent of blacks with four or more years of college earned \$20,000 to \$40,000 a year, reported the Center for the Study of Social Policy in 1982, while the same percentage of whites with only a high-school education earned incomes in the same range.

Do Chavez, Abram et al believe that blacks with more education earn less because intellectually, they can't hack it?

This new majority of Civil Rights Commissars reminds me of the Biblical Jacob, who sought the blessings of his father, Isaac, who had planned to bestow them on Esau, the older

Esau had hairy hands, so Jacob's mother, Rebekah, covered his hands with goatskin to fake out the blind Isaac.

"The voice is Jacob's voice," intoned Isaac. "but the hands are the hands of Esau."

The voice is the U.S. Civil Rights Commissars voice, but the hands are the hands of racism.

66 -

fewer items mailed, the cost per item will increase.

-- We cherish our free public library system. But services have been curtailed in many cities, because libraries must wait in line behind police, fire and transportation when local governments re-divvy their inadequate budgets each year.

Personal computer users, however, have access to at least seven major electronic libraries. Some libraries do offer such services to their patrons, but the cost is high.

Specialized users have also

George McGovern

George McGovern, in an interview with In These Times:

>>> Realistically, it's just an outside chance that you can turn the Democratic Party around. I think I could do it if I got nominated and elected, but I doubt through influence over others you could accomplish a fundamental change. The Democratic party is pretty hidebound. It's married to the Cold War. It's involved almost as much as the Republicans are in the arms race. It doesn't seem to have great moral forces that are moving the party today comparable to the civil rights battles of the '50s and '60s or the Vietnam war. The party just doesn't appear to be sensitive to the needs of change as it might been in years past.

The Democrats are still a hope, but a shaky one. I wouldn't blame people for seeking a third alternative. I'm not ready to go that route myself, but I fully understand why some people have. Time is running out for the Democrats to be the party of change, the party of reform, the party of peace and justice.

>>> What people ought to do in these primaries and caucuses is vote their conscience, not try to guess who the frontrunner is. A major part of this is to indicate the direction you'd like to see the party go. You can't do that if you're voting for a candidate who doesn't represent that direction. So take your chance on losing. If the frontrunner is really a frontrunner, he's going to win anyway. But I think it's very important to that frontrunner to know that somebody with a different perspective has a lot of support.

moved into this area. For example, 24 university libraries have joined a Research Library Group, which combines data, helps users borrow books from other libraries and copy articles—but the service is not open to the public.

As corporations, elite universities, and affluent individuals take advantage of computerized information services, America's public library system is likely to lose even more support.

-- Home banking is another convenience for home computer users. Some 25 banks nationwide are involved in home banking experiments -- California's Bank of America expects to sign up 25,000 customers by the end of this year. But these programs are generally aimed at affluent customers, who generate over 90 percent of banking profits.

Again, services for the average customer may decline. A New York research firm, Communications Studies and Planning Intl., reports that financial institutions see home banking as a means "to work toward reducing their number of human tellers and eventually, the number of brick-and-mortar branches."

Computerized machines from ovens to video games are gradually making their way into American homes. But it will be a long time, if ever, before a majority

of households have the money, education, and inclination to purchase and operate fully capable home computers.

The computopians forget that many Americans -- nearly six million metropolitan households in 1980--do not even have telephones, and this number is bound to grow as phone rates rise. These people, too, will miss the benefits of the age of information.

A much earlier technological development provides an interesting comparison.

For a half century and more, ours has been an automobileoriented society. Our largest corporations produce cars and gasoline and millions work in

these and related industries.
Yet one out of 12 metropolitan households have no cars. Over the years, as their neighbors bought autos and moved to the suburbs, the car-less found themselves trapped in declining cities, and watched mass transit deteriorate

rapidly.

The transition into an economy in which information services become dominant need not divide Americans into the "information rich" and the "information poor." But unless steps are taken to spread information technology and resources to the population as a whole, that is exactly what will happen.

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NUCLEAR FREE TAKOMA PARK

Takoma Park, Maryland (pop. 16,231), became America's thirty-sixth Nuclear Free Zone by unanimous vote of the city council on December 12, 1983. It is also the first city in this country and probably the world to declare that it will do no business with nuclear weapons manufacturers.

The Takoma Park Nuclear Free Zone ordinance bars the city from investing in or doing business with companies involved in the nuclear weapons industry, as well as prohibiting the production, transportation, storage, processing, disposal, or use of nuclear weapons within the city limits. Another novel provision of the legislation directs the city to identify a "sibling city for nuclear sanity" in the Soviet Union.

Takoma Park's ordinance was vigorously denounced by conservative groups around Washington who complained about the media coverage as much as about the ordinance itself. (In addition to national TV, radio, and press in this country, the story was carried by Soviet National Television, which sent a correspondent to interview the mayor and council!) David Hartin, speaking for the Maryland Conservative Union, said that "They're sending the wrong message to the Soviet Union ... Those people are what we call 'well-meaning but woolly-minded'. They're being used."

The Takoma Park campaign took almost eight months. The actual legislation was only introduced in council until the day

after "The Day After" was shown on television. It was the first order of business at the newly elected council's first meeting which fell, appropriately enough, on the city's centennial anniversary. "This ordinance represents a positive ... response to the challenge "The Day After" confronts us with - a challenge to imagine and to work for some alternative to our current nuclear stalemate", remarked Councilman Carl Iddings, one of the sponsors of the initiative. "As a first step towards "preserving our future" we offer this ordinance. Since our work as a Council aims at improving the communal life of our City, it is only fitting that our first act as a Council be one of ensuring that we have a future to improve."

For more information on the Takoma Park campaign contact Susan Abbott, the Nuclear Freeze Task Force, 7416 Holly Ave, Takoma Park, MD 20912. (The task Force videotaped the entire public hearing at which the ordinance was adopted and is now producing an edited verison to share with other municipalities.)

-New Abolitionist



EUGENE McCARTHY

Of Me I Sing

The scripture sayeth "By their works you shall know them."

A friend of mine, a student of both languages and of politics, says that this word from the good book does not apply to politics at the level of presidential campaigning and performance in office. First. because in most cases the candidate has never performed the works of the presidency, works which are likely to be unique. And second, pointing to recent presidential history, performance in a first term is no assurance of a good second term. He cites the Nixon record.

THEREFORE, he argues, the words must be noted and evaluated, not just the substance of the words, i.e. what is said, but the words simply as words, nouns, verbs, prepositions, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc. Differences in the use, frequency especially between first and second term campaigns, he says are especially significant.

In his 1968 speech, accepting the Republican nomination, Nixon modestly used the pronoun "we" approximately 90 times, and the more assertive "I" only about 55 times. Four years where in accepting the nomination for his second run at the presidency he used the "I" form about 60 times and the "we" only 52 times, an obvious reversal of emphasis, if contrasted with the earlier

In his final explanation, or defense of Watergate, Nixon said that "he" (in his words "I") am responsible but "we" are all to blame.

GEORGE McGovern, running against Nixon in 1972, in his acceptance scored badly on the "I"—"We" match-up. George modestly used "I" only 22 times, and the more humble "we" 37 times.

Gerald Ford, running for election to the presidency, after having been appointed to fill out the Nixon second term, was even more modest than McGovern had been four years earlier. In the 1976 acceptance speech Ford used the "I" form only nine times and the "we" form 25 times. Jimmy Carter, in that first campaign was stronger on the "I" side than was Ford although the number of "I's" was well short of the number of "we's" he used, approximately 30 "I's" to 60 we's."

Nixon as a candidate and as president, was heavy on a few. adjectives, "greatest, first, best and biggest" were among his favorites. In his first acceptance speech, he used "greatest" or a variation of it. at least 20 times. It continued to be a favorite of his after he was elected.

THE LANGUAGE of the Carter administration, according to my studious friend, was marked by the domination not of any pronoun, or adjective, but by adverbs. This might have been anticipated if Jimmy Carter's language had been watched closely during the campaign. In one of his first interviews as a candidate, when asked whether he had been immersed at his baptism he said "totally." On another occasion he said that he remembered "avidly," and promised to evolve and consummate our foreign policy "openly" and "frankly.

One of President Carter's most adverb-laden statements was one he gave following the taking of the American hostages by the government of Iran. A partial list includes these, some used more than once - directly, recently, completely, obviously, primarily, fairly, possibly, historically, basically, actually, exactly, presently. The "what was," and the "what was to be done," were smothered by the how, when, where and whys of the adverbs, making the Carter administration essentially an adverbial administration.

The time has come to examine the language of this year's presidential candidates. President Reagan has just announced his candidacy. Whether he will change his style and language use or simply move to another set of cliches, or re-use those he has been using, remains to be seen. But the mark of the language of the front running Democrat, Walter Mondale is beginning to show. Actually it showed when he was Vice-President, especially during the campaign to re-elect President Carter in 1980 when in one sentence, and, one assumes, in one breath, the vice-president described President Carter as "honest, caring, intelligent, brilliant, committed, courageous, experienced." It is excusable for a vice president to go to extremes in describing his president, since the role of the vice-president is primarily one of being a modifier.

THE FREQUENT, if not excessive, use of the adjective by a vice-president, turned presidential candidate, is another matter.

In recent speeches, Mr. Mondale has been heavy into adjectives. He has said that the Russian leaders are "cynical and dangerous," that the Soviet military build-up is "relentless" and well beyond their "defensive needs" and that it poses a "direct" challenge to "western" security. He proposes a "coherent" strategy, a "crucial" consensus, an "enhanced" NATO. The campaign of 1984 may be a show-down between the cliche and the adjective.

CHARLES McDOWELL

Meeting the Candidates

WASHINGTON - Television, as a medium of politics, is good at personality and bad at issues.

It emphasizes tone and blurs detail. It draws the viewer past literal information into intuitive judgments about personal trust. (See Marshall McLuhan, "Understanding Media"; Tony Schwartz, "Media: the Second God": Ronald Reagan, president of the United States.)

The impressions received during a televised debate do not take over and dictate the behavior of the viewer as voter. The impressions are processed by prior assumptions, political viewpoint, other prejudice, and even by the conscious application of facts and reasoning. In the end, though, the impressions received from the tube can become crucial for the voter.

Millions of voters spent up to three hours last month in their living rooms with eight Democratic candidates for president. Until two or three decades ago, not as many people saw even one candidate (or "experienced" him, as the media analysts say) in a whole campaign. So the debate in Hanover, N.H., was important. One viewer's notes on it follow.

* * *

George McGovern and Jesse Jackson were more comfortable in the hurly-burly than the others.

McGovern was so calm, unaffected and philosophical that I hardly recogmized him from his often strident presidential campaign in 1972.

Jackson, the outsider, was never not cool. He was facile but somehow compelling. He seemed amused by the straining of the others.

Neither Jackson nor McGovern can expect to be nominated. If they gain votes, whom do they damage? Walter Mondale, I guess.

* * *

Mondale, the front-runner by far. was on the defensive, saying he had not promised too much to too many. In terms of traditional thrust-andparry politics, he did all right.

But this was television politics. Did he defend himself too earnestly? Would some viewers think he simply bragged too much?

This might be a more important question: Is it his problem or ours that he seems knowledgeable and uninteresting at the same time?

John Glenn seemed almost as comfortable as McGovern and Jackson, but almost as uninteresting as Monfale. Both things surprised me.

What Glenn is trying to get across, really, is that he is less liberal than Mondale. But that keeps getting obscured by two bland personalities.

The famous shouting match between John Glenn and Mondale near the end of the program was oddly unexciting. Here was good old John Glenn, the astronaut, berating the presumptive nominee, and Mondale was standing and waving his arms and yelling for a chance to respond and no sense of a taut reality got through the tube to me.

It was old-fashioned politics, embarrassing in the living room.

A much more riveting moment came when Gary Hart said, "Fritz, John, there you two go again. The fact of the matter is, this party will not regain leadership so long as the leaders of the past continue to debate whose policies of the past are the

Hart, who offers himself as part of a "new generation" of leaders, might well understand the Democrats' problem. And he seems to understand television. But there is something about him, some kind of remoteness, that keeps dimming his wattage.

Alan Cranston got a lot said on his issue, arms control, but this bright man blended into the background most of the time.

Reubin Askew was sensible but his

presence was fuzzy — an outsider. Ernest Hollings' presence was large and distinct, and he was knowledgeable and funny. But even with a soft Southern accent, he came on too strong, almost bullying sometimes.

In terms of the old politics, the eight candidates debated the issues, and nothing startling came of it. In terms of television politics, millions of people had a personal experience with eight candidates, and almost anything could come of it.

Richmond Times-Dispatch





CAMPAIGN AND ELECTIONS is a quarterly journal devoted to managing successful political campaigns. \$48 a year from C&E, Suite 602, National Press Building, DC 20045.

HISPANIC MONITOR: new monthly newsletter reports on an analyzes issued of concern to Hispanics. Subscriptions are \$50 a year from HM, 1133 Broadway, Room 826, New York NY 10010

THE AGE OF TRIAGE: From pograms to boat people, government led mass slaughter has been increasing. In this book, theologian Richard L. Rubenstein raises the question of whether this slaughter is less a social aberration than a drastic cure for overpopulation and underemployment. Rubenstein calls it a form of triage and suggests alternatives. (Beacon Press)

REVOLT AGAINST REGULATION: Federal Trade Commissioner Michael Pertschuk's excellent book on the FTC and the consumer movement is now available in paperback (University of California Press).

WITNESS FOR PEACE is a grassroots effort by North American Christians to maintain a permanent presence on the border between Nicaragua and Honduras as a "protective shield." The first of the 15-member rotating teams went to the area in December and is in response to a request from Nicaraguan Protestants. For information write Yvonne Dil'ing, Witness for Peace, PO Box 29241, DC 20017.

The Project for Investigative Reporting on Money in Politics has funds for investigative stories and is interested in leads. Write Jim Boyd, PO Box 770, Madison, Va 22727 (703-672-3166).

VINTAGE '45 is a quarterly aimed at women between 35 and 55.
Subscriptions are \$7.45. Write Vintage '45, PO Box 266, Orinda, CA 94563.

BLACK WOMEN AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT is a 30-page report available for 1 1b,25p (about \$2 US) from Kings Cross Women's Center, 71 Tonbridge Street, Kings Cross, London, WCI, England 837 7509.

RECON reccomends

Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History, Grove Press. 1983, 342 pages.

Another counter-insurgency war is taking place in Guatemala. The media focuses our attention on Nicaragua and El Salvador -- most recently, also on Grenada. Nevertheless, a revolutionary movement has been growing in Guatemala since 1976, gaining popular support, and winning victories. This excellent collection of 54 articles tells of the struggle and of the reasons why it is necessary. Send \$7.95/copy to 196 West Houston St., New York, NY 10014.

Lebanon by Michael Jansen, South End Press, 1982, 142 pages.
Writing from Israel with the help of her husband in Beirut, Michael Jansen explodes the myth of a limited operation into Lebanon. From the start of the invasion in June 1982, through the massacre of Palestinians at Sabra and Chatila in September, the Jansens place the events into the context of a long-range plan for a Greater Israel. It might have worked, too, if the Palestinian fighters had not won a strategic victory in the Battle of Beirut. Send \$6.50/copy to 302 Columbus Ave., Boston, MA 02116.

Battle of Beirut: Why Israel Invaded

"Trilateral Security: Defense and Arms Control Policies in the 1980s," Triangle Papers #26, Trilateral Commission, 1983. 106 pages.
Rebuilding detente with the Soviet Union

Rebuilding detente with the Soviet Union is the central element in the security of Japan, Europe, and the U.S., according to this report by and for the ruling class of those three regions. They disagree with Reagan on a number of key points (such as deployment of the MX missile), while on others Reagan has since adopted their ideas (such as the multi-lateral force in Lebanon) Outside of the Middle East, the Third World appears to have no impact on the security of the Northern Hemisphere. There may be some surprises in store. Since Walter Mondale was a founder of the Trilateral Commission and John Glenn is a current member, these ideas should have some impact on the 1984 elections. Send \$3.00 to 345 East 46th St., New York, NY 10017.

Evolution of Nuclear Strategy by Lawrence Freedman, St. Martin's Press, 1981, 473 pages.
Freedman has written a very clear history of nuclear strategy. He admits it is not really an "evolution," which implies progress. Unfortunately, the story stops in 1975, with only about five pages on Carter and nothing about Reagan. The strength of this book lies in making the ideas of the first 30 years of the nuclear age understandable. Those ideas are still with os, and their history has an impact on the current debate. Send \$10.95/copy to 175 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10010.

Iron Fist and the Velvet Glove: An Analysis of the U.S. Police, Synthesis Publications, Third Edition, 1982, 232 pages. This call to political action was written to help community organizers avoid several errors that have weakened past efforts to organize against police repression. Police repression is not a local problem nor is it self-contained within the institutional police department. Therefore, a singleissue approach to police repression will be susceptible to co-optation. This analysis of the development and role of the police in the U.S. will certainly help community activists check the growth of militarism and limit repression in their neighborhoods. Send \$9.95/copy to RECON, P.O. Box 14602, Philadelphia, PA 19134.

Get Off My Ship: Ensign Berg Vs. The U.S. Navy by E. Labrence Gibson, Avon Books, 1978, 385 pages.

A documentation of the U.S. Navy's homophobia and repressive bureaucracy, Get Off My Ship is also the story of a courageous sailor. We are allowed to experience Berg's "coming out" and the reaction of his friends and family. This is an event experienced by many gays, but few have had to simultaneously face the military's repressive system. Berg did it with dignity. Available for \$4.95/copy from 959 Eighth Ave., New York, NY 10019.

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Central America

Fast on the heels of the Kissinger Commission report, progressive organizations have launched an effort to stop the military offensive in Central America. The National Campaign for Peace in Central America has been founded by major union, church and peace organizations.

Supporters are urged to lobby their congressional representatives to delete \$250 million in military aid for El Salvador from the supplemental appropriations bill. There will also be a Central America Week beginning March 19 followed by local activities March 21-22. Info: Coalition for a New Foreign and military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave NE, DC 20002, 202-546-8400.

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DC Cont'd

- LEASING CITY LAND: Urban renewal and landassembly type planning, even beyond the bad social ramifications, has been an economic bust. The city has taken large tracts of land, happily lost all tax revenues on it for years, and then sold it at a discount to large developers. The sensible way to have gone about this would have been to retained city ownership of the land and for DC to have leased the land to businesses. Depending on the situation, the intitial lease could be heavily discounted or even given free until the business started generating a profit. The initial benefit would have been jobs, services and tax revenues followed by growing lease income. Instead we have followed a pattern of longterm disuse of land and ultimate sale at a discount, often to a developer catering to a type of occupant clientele that is heavily suburban-oriented (and hence not tax efficient). For starters, the city should simply not be allowed to sell any more of its land. Its profligacy in this regard has cost the city dearly. This should be followed by an aggressive program of leasing property that could be put to commercial or residential use from the largest tracts to unused rooms in school buildings.
- TRUE COST-BENEFIT ANALYSIS: No economic tool has been so abused in the past as cost-benefit analysis. The classic cost-benefit analysis of the DC government is heavily one-sided. It assumes, for example, that every new office building will produce X dollars in tax revenues and XY dollars in spin-off benefits but that no one in the new building will go to the bathroom, require an ambulance, get robbed, or drive on city streets to get home. Cost-benefit analysis is useful but only if it is done honestly and sensibly, which has not often been the case. If it had, we would have long ago discovered that hotels do more for the city than office buildings, that there was a world of difference between building for commuters and building for residents, and that the wholesale eviction of small merchants from downtown was counter-productive.
- CAPITALIZING ON THE TOURIST TRADE: Washington remains indolent in the face of its biggest natural resource and endless renewable at that: the tourist. No one should take seriously any politician who talks about city finances without a plan for increasing tourist revenues.
- ESTABLISHING A CITY BANK: The city should have its own bank so it can make some of the money that otherwise goes to private sources of capital. With a bank it could make profitable loans, become an equity partner in development projects and taking an equity position in homes it currently disposes of at tax sales. The private financial institutions would hate it but so what?

Saving money

The key to making sense out of our expenditures is to figure out what we really need to spend. At present, no one knows. We need to design a budget for the city based on what an efficiently run city requires, not what we, as a result of political, historical and accidental reasons, happen to have. At the least this would serve as a benchmark, showing us how far off course we were. Until we face up to the number of employees, programs and agencies that we carry simply because they are there, we will never make a serious dent in the budget. Obviously, the mayor and city council are the ones least likely to undertake such a venture; but someone should. We suspect that such a redesigned city model might include elements such as these:

• REDUCING THE PLANNING: We now have nearly two decades worth of empirical evidence that the concept of a "planned city is a happy city" is just not true. Planning has been used primarily as a land giveaway program and secondarily as an employment program for planners. Even outside the physical planning field, such as the planning that has occurred in law enforcement, large sums have been wasted with no evidence that they have improved matters at all. For

starters reduce the number of people involved in planning by fifty percent.

- RATIONALIZING TRANSPORTION: That means stopping construction of the outrageously expensive subway system but it also means using a variety of means for giving buses greater priority on city streets. It means redesigning the bus system. Also, perhaps least obvious of all, it means finding ways that people don't have to spend so much time moving around, such as encouraging neighborhood shopping districts.
- REDUCING THE EGO BUDGET: The city has spent extraordinary sums in order to feel good about itself. Often these are disguised as economic development projects but turn out to be further drains on the economy, such as the convention center which should be turned into a shopping mall as quickly as possible. Any economic development project that ends up adding to your taxes should be deeply questioned.
- DECENTRALIZING THE CITY GOVERNMENT: This should be done as quickly as possible. Not only would we be able to realize some of the economies of reverse scale (government becomes more expensive the more people it serves) but it would have, we suspect, an interesting effect on government employment. Moving more government workers out of their downtown offices to the actual commuities they are meant to be serving would not only put these people closer to the complaints but also might prove an incentive for some of the less desriable of the lot to leave government service entirely. If we had eight deputy mayors in charge of services for each of the ward, we would either get better service or we'd at least know where we could move to get it.
- TRIMMING FROM THE TOP DOWN: When RIFs must occur, it is generally preferable that they occur in such a way that the service can still be provided, if without the same degree of supervision. The city tends to

LETTERS

Well, you've finally done it -you've at long last completely flipped your lid. "The Progressive Review!!!" Hrumph! Why not try "The Welfare State Chronicle?" There is nothing "progressive" about feeding the nation's "hungry" (or should we say "lazy?"). "Liberal," yes, "bleeding heart," definitely; but "progressive," no! The progressive ideal traces itself back to the Progressive Era which grew out of the Republican Party. Progressives believed in hard work and individual enterprise, desiring to remove the monopolistic barriers to personal and social advancement.

In a less ideological vein, it is unconscionable for the DC Gazete to change its name. You are a DC institution, perhaps even an historic entity. You are too much a part of the city's history and culture -- the originator of the modern-day statehood movement, constant tormentor of those in government who would sell us down the river, steadfast opponent of the "developers" who would rape our city, to change your name now. For you to change your name now would be like renaming the historic Rhodes Tavern as "The 15th Street Inn." Someone ought to put you on the National Register before you completely defile your history and that part of our's you've created. DC candidates even cite the "DC Gazette" in their literature; citing the "Progressive Review" will be meaningless.

DINO JOSEPH DRUDI

Brookland.

DC BOOKSHELF

JOHN WIEBERSON'S MAP OF WASHINGTON: Done in Wieb's wry and pointed style, this map was drawn for the Bicentennial and is now available for 40% off at \$1.50.

WASHINGTON: Constance Green's Pultizer Prize-winning comprehensive history of Washington is now available in paperback for only \$9.50. The basic book of DC history.

A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR WASHINGTON STUDIES AND DESCRIPTION OF MAJOR LOCAL COLLECTIONS: This is a revised and enlarged edition of an outstanding bibliography of Washington materials that has been out of print for several years. It has been compiled and annotated by Perry G. Fisher of the Columbia Historical Society and Linda J. Lear of George Washington University. There are nearly 350 entries in the new edition, as well as updated descriptions of the major local collections of Washingtoniana. \$6.

CAPTIVE CAPITAL

By Sam Smith

Could be an excellent gift for any friend just moving to town. Or any friend who has managed to live here for sometime without learning anything about Washington. Sam Smith's is one of the few efforts I have seen that manages to deal with black people and white people without insulting either." — WILLIAM RASPBERRY, WASHINGTON POST

It is absolutely 'must' reading for all who are interested in this city's history, its political or private life - JAMES TINNEY, WASHINGTON AFRO-AMERICAN

Smith's book is a joy to read - ROB-ERT CASSIDY, CHICAGO TRIBUNE

"CAPTIVE CAPITAL" tells the story of non-federal Washington, the city beyond the monuments. Published in 1974, on the eve of an elected government in DC, it tells of the city's struggle for independence and self-respect. Written by Gazette editor Sam Smith.

Originally sold for \$8.50, the book is now available for \$5

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OLD WASHINGTON, DC, IN EARLY PHOTOGRAPHS: 1846-1932. This is a truly fine collection of over 200 prints that provide an enduring record of this city. \$7.95.

SECRET CITY: Constance Green's history of black Washington. A highly readable trip through the city's black past. \$7.95

FOOTNOTE WASHINGTON: Bryson rash, who broadcast news and commentary here for more that 40 years, has compiled a collection of sidebar stories about Washington that you'll love to read and then buy more copies as gifts. Find out why the city has no J Street; where you can find a 130-year-old elevator still in operation, and which equestrian statue in the city underwent a sex change operation, plus much more. \$7.95

THE FIRST WOMEN WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENTS. Tells the story of women who early broke the sex barrier to cover the capital city, beginning with Jane Grey Swisshelm who won a seat in the Senate Press Gallery in 1850 despite a warning from Vice President Fillmore that "the place would be very unpleasant for a lady." \$2.00

ANCIENT WASHINGTON: American Indian Cultures of the Potomac Valley. A rare and valuable anthropological look at the beginnings of Washington culture. \$3.00

LAW AND ORDER IN THE CAPITAL CITY: A History of the Washington Police 1800-1886. An interesting perspective on crime and police work of an earlier time. \$3.00

YESTERDAY'S WASHINGTON: A photographic history of our city that all lovers of DC will want to have. 20% off at \$7.95.

THIRTY-TWO PICTURE POST CARDS OF OLD WASHINGTON, DC. Ready to mail. Rare photos reproduced as post cards in sepia. A different way to stay in touch. \$2.75.

CAPTIVE CAPITAL: Sam Smith tells the story of non-federal Washington. "Not only well worth reading, but it is the best book we are likely to read on Washington," Bryce Nelson of the LA Times. "An excellent gift," Bill Raspberry in the Washington Post. "Must Reading," Afro-American. "A joy to read," Robert Cassidy in the Chicago Tribune.

NOW ONLY \$5 A—COPY

BOSS SHEPHERD AND THE BOARD OF PUBLIC WORKS. The fascinating tale of DC's only true political boss and perhaps the most controversial figure in local history. \$3.

FOGGY BOTTOM 1800-1975. A Study in the Uses of an Urban Neighborhood. From the old neighborhood of Hamburg to the struggles over urban renewal and the Kennedy Center. \$4.00

GENTRIFICATION IN ADAMS MORGAN: Political and Commercial Consequences of Neighborhood Change. Going behind the cliches to actually what happens in gentrification, author Jeffrey Henig has presented an important addition to the study of this phenomenom. \$5:00

prefer to trim trom the bottom up, thus leaving us with fewer services but much the same level of supervision. Excess supervision, perhaps most noteworthy in the school system, is rampant throughout the government.

• DIRECTING GRANTS TO NEIGHBORHOODS: Neighborhood commissions should be given greater budgetary power and be allowed to assume some governmental functions on a contract basis. There are considerable efficiencies possible in such an approach.

• REDUCING THE POLICE DEPARTMENT; The police department, which grew like topsy under Nixon, has been cut back somewhat but is still larger than it needs to be. There is a case to be made that the very ponderosity of the department limits its crime-

fighting ability.

• DECRIMINALIZING MINOR OFFENSES: The police and courts and prisons carry the economic burden of excessive criminalization of our laws. Minor drug offenses and prostitution are two of the most glaring examples but there are many others. Some of these could be handled better through a neighborhood judicial system, others by expanding the traffic ticket approach to minor offenses.

In short, decentralize, desupervise, deconsult, deplan, decriminalize and dehype the city and you'll find yourself not only saving a considerable amount of money, you might even like the place better.

-REPORT CARD-

Here is our report card on the mayor and city council. Generally speaking, we give 2 points plus or minus for votes on key issues (three in special cases) and one point plus or minus for introducing a measure or taking a position without any action. This month:

• The council began consideration of the budget and immediately rejected a sensible proposal by finance chair Wilson that would have required each committee to reduce the mayor's budget for the agencies under their control by 2% or recommend specific tax increases to cover the difference. Only Wilson, Clarke and Kane voted to support this idea, so they get two points and the rest get two taken away.

• Polly Shackleton has introduced a bill that would revoke or suspend alcoholic beverage licences cited for-but not convicted of -- building or zoning code violations. The Barry administration rightly opposes this measure which is more than a tad weak on the due process side. Polly loses a point and Barry gains one.

• The mayor and the school board reached agreement on a funding level for the schools this year without any of the threats, nonsense and aggravations emanating from the mayor's office last year. Give Marion a point for a rare improvement in the way he does business.

Here are this month's grades, cummulative from the beginning of 1983:

NAME	SCORE
KANE	12
MASON	11
WILSON	9
WINTER	0
SHACKLETON	-1
SMITH	-2
CLARKE	-2
MOORE	-6
RAY	-8
SPAULDING	-9
CRAWFORD	-9
JARVIS	-13
BARRY	-14
	KANE MASON WILSON WINTER SHACKLETON SMITH CLARKE MOORE RAY SPAULDING CRAWFORD JARVIS

[NOTE: a number of grades have upgraded this month to correct a mathematical fallacy in our previous computation. Given the way we score points, a person who votes right half the time and wrong half the time would have a 0 score, or, given our kindly spirit, a C. The other grades are adjusted accordingly.

-CITY DESK-

DOT WANTS STATUS QUO ON RENO

Ignoring consultant recommendations that traffic on Reno Road be reduced to one lane in each direction, the Department of Transportation has come out in favor of keeping the road two lanes northbound at all times. Said Howard Ruff, chair of the Reno Road Coalition, the DOT's report is a "farce." DOT also recommended changing signal timing to discourage speeding, elimination of special bus lanes on Connecticut Avenue and new traffic lights near schools at Lowell and Davenport Streets.

ZONING COMMISSION TO CHANGE FAST FOOD
The Zoning Commission will hold hearings on March 19
at 130 pm to consider amendments to the zoning
regulations regarding fast food restaurants. Fast food
operations have caused considerable opposition in a
number of neighborhoods. The ZC will consider how to
distinguish between fast food operations and other
types of restaurants, in which zoning districts such
establishments should be allowed, whether they should
be matter of right or special exceptions and what ofstreet parking requirements there should be. Info: 727
-6311

FURTHERMORE

- The DC Association for Retarded Citizens needs volunteers to work with the retarded. Call 828-7788.
- Although Washingtonians sometimes think of this town as the capital of psychiatrists, the American Psychiatric Association reports that we have only 45 shrinks per 100,000 potential patients. That's peanuts compared to Ann Arbor's 80 per 100,000, New Haven's 53 and, yes, Topeka's 52. We don't even beat out Poughkeepsie, Raleigh, Rochester, Minn, and Colombia, Mo. But then some of these places cheat by having large numbers of medical centers nearby.
- The number of beds in area shelters for the homeless has increased 57% in the last year according to COG.
- The Wall Street Journal reports that attorneys in New York and DC are encountering a new form of discrimination: landlords won't rent to them because they're afraid of law suits. The landlords claim they're tired of being hauled into court over missing tiles, stained sinks, or putty on a window pane. They say the lawyers can afford these nuisance suits because they do their own work, and claim that young attorneys sometimes sue just for the practice.
- In a move that augurs well for town-gown relations at GWU, Roderick French has been named vice president for academic affairs for the university, the top academic post. French has been a leading (and rare) example of a local university professor using his talents to help the city in which he lives and works. He was co-chair of the DC Community Humanities Council, founder of the annual conference on DC historical studies, originator of the local monograph series and organized the university's Center for Washington Area Studies.
- It appears that the infamous Capital Gateway project is now dead thanks to shortage of subsidy funds from the feds and city hall. This proposed project was one of the least justifiable of the many developer giveaways proposed by the city adminstration.

C O R R E C T I O N
In the last issue we took an unjustified swipe at the Post for allegedly intending not to replace its ombudsman. But even as the issue was reaching you the first column of the new ombudsman appeared. We got some bum information and apologize.

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We would like to introduce you and your friends to the Review, the off-Broadway of Washington journalism that has been comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable for more than seventeen years. If you or they are not a past or present subscriber, we will be glad to send you or them a FREE trial subscription. Just fill out the form below and mail it to us. Of course, if you already believe in what we are doing, we would welcome our \$6 subscription fee or a \$20 supporting subscription. If you do send in the regular fee, we will send you a copy of "Flotsam & Jetsam," a collection of Review editor Sam Smith's essays published on these pages over the years.

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